1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 · NN11 Creek NN11

cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[88] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[84] is always allotted to the beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [85] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cooking black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

"Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

"Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

"Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

"If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

---

[84] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[85] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
Muskogee

622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

[574] "He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

[344 621]

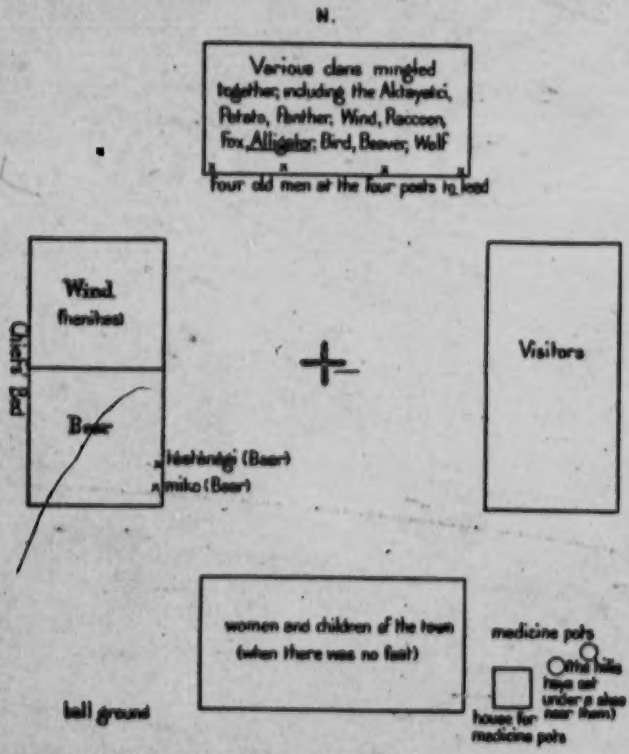
N.
Various clans mingled together; including the Aktayaici, Potato, Panther, Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Bird, Beaver, Wolf
Four old men at the four posts to lead
Wind
Panther
Chief's bed
Bear
Visitors
women and children of the town (when there was no feast)
medicine pots
house for medicine pots
ball ground

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobaya (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34

7/A [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

642 671 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

PROPERTY

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

● [574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 431 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.
[3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says:

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4]

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says:

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9]

[4] Stiggins, MS.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 404-405.
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. iii, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 422.
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 228.
[9] Ibid., p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; âtā'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots [80] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[81]

Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[80] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[81] See also pp. 525-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

TRAVEL AND GREETINGS

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily: 484 574

"When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their ususal custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the tcokofa] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, ... as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman." [85]

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.[86] 574

"A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying 'I am come'; [and] the good man or woman replies, 'You are; it's well.' Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, 'I go!' the other answers, 'You do!' He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes." [87]

[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 17-18. [86] Ibid., p. 17. [87] Bartram, Travels, pp. 489-490.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

574 The following from Stiggins may also be included:

"The most prominent and I believe it to be the most uniform feature in their national character which shows itself constantly is in their civility and innocent deportment to each other and especially to a stranger that may travel among them and is sociable and seems to wish to conform to their customs and manners, without being self important or asking too many impertinent questions, which will often disgust them and conclude in bad consequences. . . . [One 'churlish of his eatables'] is termed by them a (nobody). So of all people they are the most tenacious of their reputation in hospitality, for on the entrance of a stranger into one of their huts he is immediately requested to sit down and as an introduction to his acquaintance he is asked his residence, destination, and business. Such questions are so common to them that they are replied to satisfactorily and in a brief manner, and in the meanwhile he is supplied with eatables, which is uniformly done at every house at which he may call. Their provisions bestowed on an acquaintance or stranger are put forth with a welcome which need not be doubted, should it compose the last morsel that they have got, as the provisions they bestow on a man are one of the links of their chief pride, and to doubt his hearty welcome in that case would unutterably hurt his feelings."[68]

Although Romans was no lover of the Creeks his testimony in this particular is equally favorable. He says:

"They are very hospitable and never fail of making a stranger heartily welcome, offering him the pipe as soon as he arrives, while the good women are employed to prepare a dish of venison and homany, with some bread made of maize and flour, and being wraped in maize leaves, baked under the ashes; when it is served up they accompany it with bears fat purified to a perfectly chrystalline oyl, and a bottle of honey with which last article the country abounds, and it is so good a quality, as in my opinion to exceed that of *Calabria* and *Minorca*.

"In the lower nation and the allied tribes, there are many who keep rice by them and have plenty of beef; of all which articles they are profusely liberal, and I believe had they only a single potatoe, they would share it with a stranger. In the fruit season they never fail to accompany these regales with melons, peaches, plums, grapes, or some other wild fruit.

"After the traveller is made welcome by his host, the latter introduces him into the assembly, which is kept every evening at a place called the square, of which we find one in each town. At this place he is entertained with tobacco and cassine drink; this is also the common resort of their old men and warriors to deliberate on matters of peace and war, to judge what steps are to be taken for the welfare

[68] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

574

of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage;* the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night." [88]

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofki?] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round." [89]

[576]

Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor.

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given asi to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably isti atcagagi. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.[91] He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

[88] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.

[89] Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 17-18.

[91] Milfort, Mém., pp. 388-389. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

574 of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.[92]

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place." [93]

576 The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come." [94]

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (ânhisi łâko), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as Kasihta and Tâlwâ łâko. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas. *Boso' tcika'noso'*, "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *tcâkā'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *tcahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tci'matiksahâme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnapo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *tcâkā'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

[92] Millert, Mém., p. 211. [93] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 20. [94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

535 [302]

These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town.

[784]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard.

535 574

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement.

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

535
574 led by a second old man, and all of the men carried turkey-tail fans. They danced for a while sinistrally, and then turned around and danced dextrally. When they were through the women remained standing in a row southeast of the fire. Then the old man took the baton already mentioned, stood opposite them and let the hoop fall on the head of each woman in succession, saying as he did so, "pâtcicpâlō', make bread." This was because the women were to make bread while the men were off hunting. Another old man stood beside the first and counted the women off, "one, two, three," etc., and when he made the last count all of the men said "Ōh" in a very high-pitched voice. Then all the men went after venison, and at the end of two weeks all brought roast venison to the dancing ground on the same day. When they were within about half a mile they discharged their guns and shouted to let it be known that they were coming. They took the venison to a house at the dance ground built like a corncrib and laid it down there. That night they began the horned-owl dance again, and after it was over the men sat down on sheepskins, bearskins, or blankets all around the fire. Then the women came with dishes of bread and set them down by the men, one dish by some, two by others, three or four by others, etc., as they chose. Two old men now came, each with a kolbe' (a large flat basket made of cane). They gathered up the bread and redistributed it to all of the men and boys. Then the old men went to a scaffold near by and brought a number of sharp sticks already prepared. They laid one of these by every man who had received one dish of bread, two by those who had received two dishes, and so on. Then the two old men took their kolbes again and brought the venison which they also distributed. The men took it and put one, two, three, or more pieces of meat on each stick. Then they held these up in their hands and each woman got a stick of venison and her dish. Then the men began to sing while still seated, one man leading with a rattle. All sang four times and then they stood up and sat down in their usual places, on logs about 20 paces back from the fire. They now stood up again and formed a circle surrounding and facing the women. First the men danced backward, the women following facing them; then they filed off round the fire in couples, a man and a woman together. They went around four times and then went off to one side of the fire, the north for instance, danced inward in an ever narrowing spiral, turned around and danced out again in the same way, danced around the fire four times more, and then danced in a spiral in and out to the west of the fire. In this way they went all the way round, dancing on the south and east sides also. Finally they danced four times round the fire. Bread and venison were given out for four successive nights, and the same dance followed.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country: 535 574•

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwà yuhe'à.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear. [784]

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.[18]

[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

had been repeated four times. Then the women assembled at the same place as before, only the men came and got them in their turn; the same thing was repeated four times in all, when they stopped. It was danced at any time, but usually in summer. The Mikasuki had one rattler for this dance and the dancers went around about as in the alligator dance. 535

In the tree-frog dance there were also two men by the fire singing, one beating on a drum. The dancers were in two files, two men alternating with two women. When the drummer beat the drum all of the men squatted down on their haunches, the woman remaining standing. Then the two singers and the squatting men all sang a song. At a certain beat of the drum all stopped singing and began dancing around again. They danced around the fire four times and stopped, and the men squatted down once more. The whole was repeated four times. It was danced at any season.

The bone dance was danced at night at any time of the year and it was very fast, "like a nigger dance." Because it was so fast some women did not like to participate in it. One man beat the drum and sang. The dancers were in couples, a man and a woman side by side, holding hands. They danced forward for a while and at a certain beat turned round and danced backward, at another beat danced forward, and so on. They went around the fire four times. There were two songs, one sung while they were standing still, another while they were dancing.

The dance often spoken of as "the fish dance" (Łało obânga, in Creek) is identical with the garfish dance, although, as we have seen, there was a catfish dance. Among the Alabama the garfish dance was said to be just like the chicken dance, only faster. There was one drummer and one person to help him sing, and there were eight songs. According to the Mikasuki chief it was almost the same as the alligator dance except that the songs were shorter. This dance seems to have been in especial favor with the Koasati, and according to one informant the garfish was their tribal mark. It would seem from the account of it, however, that the Koasati garfish dance was either a distinct dance or very much modified. David Cummings, who passed his early youth with the old Koasati, had the following to say about it:

In the fall, September or October, the men went out hunting and stayed out about a month. When they got near home on their return they uttered whoops, and when the women heard that they said, "The hunters are coming home with deer meat and turkeys." After that they appointed a day on which to dance the fish dance. Every man who danced this had a stick made like a garfish its mouth being open and a piece of cedar placed in it. About a dozen men were invited to take part in this dance, word being sent to them by two ta'palas. 535 574

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

535
•574 They formed a complete circle under the roof which covered the Koasati square and, holding the wooden fish in their hands, jumped up and down and danced. The musicians sat in the chiefs' bed. At a certain time in the song all of the dancers said "yū+ō" and all changed places, each moving to the station vacated by the man next in front of him. In this manner they moved about the entire circle. Except for the above exclamation the singing was all done by the musicians in the chiefs' bed. Afterwards there was a great feast (hompila), consisting of all sorts of cooked foods, everybody being invited into the square ground. Then they danced the common or stomp dance all that night, and everyone was compelled to attend, the old women and children being the only persons exempted.

535 William McCombs stated that in the garfish dance, as he knew it, the participants grouped themselves together in four circles at each of the four corners of the square in succession, beginning at the southeast and passing in the usual direction. This appears to have been like the Koasati dance just described, as was probably the fish dance mentioned by Swan in which the leader, male or female, carried a wooden fish.[19]

In the double-headed dance, there was one drummer and one other person to help him sing. There were two parties of dancers and a leader for each, which went round the fire in opposite directions, one outside of the other. After they had gone round four times the leaders took each other by the hand and all of their followers did the same, and they danced backward and forward a few times, away from and toward the fire. Then they let go and danced around the fire in the same manner four times more. After dancing backward and forward for the fourth time all shouted and stopped. There were two songs.

When the quail dance was to be undertaken one man sat close to the ball posts away from the fire beating a drum and all of the men and women danced around him. The men and women alternated and walked like quails. There were two songs and they made four circuits during each. This was danced at night and sometimes just before a ball game. The Mikasuki used a rattler instead of a drummer and he stood close by the fire. The dancers went by couples, a man and a woman holding each other's hands. There were four songs.

In the terrapin dance a drummer and an assistant singer sat by the fire to furnish the music. The dancers went in single file, men and women alternating. Each dancer clasped both hands together and moved them about to right and left, jumping a little at times. The leaders kept repeating "kwi'" over and over and the rest of the dancers said "haha." There was only one song, and they stopped

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says:

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[20]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko.

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 464.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[21]

796 623 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

"As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[21] Bartram, Travels, pp. 233-235.